

and there are times when only if you fully air something do the Senate Members really come here well enough informed to vote on it.

We are still the oldest democracy on Earth. We are still living under the oldest Constitution on Earth, and without men and women of goodwill being willing to offer themselves for service, there is absolutely no assurance that that will always be. Thomas Jefferson said, "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." He was not just talking about military vigilance. We are still woefully inadequate in this country in the field of education. If I were the President of the United States and I were looking at a \$70 billion surplus, I would make sure the first thing we did was to pass a bill that said no child in this Nation shall be deprived of a college education for lack of money. Look at all the statistics where we rank among the developed nations in education. And look at the state of health care. It is good for those who can afford it. And 45 million who have no health insurance and no health care do the best they can.

Mr. President, I have been richly blessed in my life, as I said, mostly by devoted parents, and good Methodist Sunday school teaching. My mother wanted me to be a Methodist preacher and my father wanted me to be a politician. Think about growing up with that pressure. I am personally blessed with a great family. If I died tomorrow, the people of Arkansas would take note of it, and there would be headlines in all of the papers in the State. But if Betty died tomorrow the people of our State would grieve. She has founded two organizations.

When Ronald Reagan announced to this country that we might just fire one across the Soviet Union's bow to get their attention, he terrified her. She and a group of congressional wives met around my kitchen table for about 6 months. Finally, I came home one night, and she said, "We are forming an organization. And we feel so strongly about it that we are going to put 'peace' in the name. We are going to call it Peace Links". Ultimately, she had almost 250 congressional wives conscripted into that organization.

I told her "you are going to get your husband beat." We are from a conservative State. People in Arkansas believe in a strong defense. People across this Nation believe in a strong defense. She said, "You men are going to get my children killed."

She had already spent all of her public life, from the time I was Governor until this day trying to immunize all of the children in this country. And I am not going to go through all of the successes that she has had, which have been staggering.

The Western Hemisphere is free of polio. Africa will be free of polio by the year 2002. Asia will be free of polio by the year 2004. And measles is next.

I tell you, she deserves a lot of credit for the virtual elimination of childhood

diseases in this country. She went to see President Carter when he first came to power. She said, "I tell you something you can do that will have a lasting effect on the health of this Nation, and it will help you a lot when you run again." He put Joe Califano at her disposal. And today she and Rosalynn Carter have an organization called "Every Child By Two." She is still going at it—peace and children.

I have three beautiful children, and six beautiful, healthy grandchildren. I have been blessed with exceptional staff members, most of whom are more than staff members. They are very good friends. I have been blessed with the support of the people of my State in winning almost every election by 60 percent or more of the vote. I was much more liberal than my constituents. I like to believe that they respected me because they knew what I stood for is what I believed instead of what was politically expedient at any given time. But, for whatever reason, I will always be grateful to them.

Our State does not deserve to have been torn apart for the past 6 years. I know so many innocent people who have been destroyed, financially and mentally, by a criminal justice system gone awry. You would have to go back to the Salem witchcraft trials to find anything comparable.

I do not, nor does any Senator, condone the President's conduct. Call it whatever you want—reprehensible, indefensible, unconscionable. Call it anything you want. But most of us take pride in President Clinton's Presidency. And the American people are still saying they like him. But completely aside from that, as I say, I weep sometimes for the unfair treatment to my State, and so many innocent people in it.

I have been blessed by unbelievable friendships of colleagues. Those friendships will probably wane. It is almost impossible to maintain a relationship with a colleague once you leave here. That is really tragic. But I am realistic. And I know that is what it will be. I know we will have a difficult time having the same kind of relationship, if any at all. But I want them to know that I value their friendship. I value my service with them. I have served with some truly great men and women. And, as Senator BYRD likes to say, only 1,843 men and women have ever been so privileged to serve in this body.

I am already nostalgic about this Chamber—24 years in this Chamber, the Cloakroom, the hearing rooms, the Capitol itself. For 24 years, the first 20 of which I went home almost every weekend and came back on Sunday night, I never failed, as we flew by the Washington Monument, to get goose bumps. And I hope I never do. So, colleagues, I thank you for being my friend. To the people of my State, I thank you for allowing me to serve here.

I want to teach, in order to teach children that politics is a noble profes-

sion. My father said it long before Bobby Kennedy did. It is a noble calling. And the minute it becomes what so many people think it is, who do you think suffers? All of us do. So I want to inspire this oncoming generation, as my father did me, to get involved in the political process and public service. You have a duty and a responsibility.

So, to the U.S. Senate, to all of my colleagues, God bless and Godspeed.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LAUTENBERG addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). The Senator from New Jersey.

SENATOR DALE BUMPERS

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, this is one of those moments that one feels a bit overwhelmed—to follow DALE BUMPERS in a discourse that he gives here on the floor. This is a task that I never liked—to get on the floor after DALE BUMPERS moved us with his oratory and described his feelings for this institution and our responsibility. But there is another reason that I am really feeling uneasy; that is, the prospect that this place will be without DALE's voice, without his wit, his humor, but more importantly, his commitment to the people of this country.

I want you to know, DALE, what a sacrifice I make today. I decided to stay here rather than to go to a budget conference down the hall trying to wrestle with the issues of the day. So I sacrificed that time just so I could stand on this floor to hear your terminal speech. That is devotion and friendship, I assume.

I have to say that one could see the position that DALE has earned over the years, because people were as generous and as warm and as friendly from the other side of the aisle. That doesn't mean that we always agree, and it doesn't mean that we always share a similar direction for our country.

But DALE has succeeded in winning friends, in making sure that we never forgot about who it is we are here to serve. We could make lots of jokes, but one never wants to compete with DALE's humor. I think about the only close match was with DALE BUMPERS and Alan Simpson. That was a good team. The jokes were always better when we were off the floor somehow. But beyond the wit, beyond the humor, beyond the jokes was always this incredible pursuit of what is right for our country and what is right for our people.

I have submitted a written statement without the kind of eloquence I wish I could have borrowed from DALE. He was right, he was accurate when he said his impression of his IQ was overblown. All of us agree with that.

We know DALE well. We love him. We love to tease him a little bit. There were very few times on this floor when DALE could not get attention from others, and it wasn't just the volume; it

was the substance of his mission that we all paid attention to. They kid him about stretching the cord that holds our microphones, but everybody was anxious to hear what DALE had to say or read what was in the RECORD.

So I just wanted to have a chance to say how pleased I am for the opportunity to be here at the last speech Senator DALE BUMPERS was going to make in this Chamber. It has been an honor to serve with DALE as well as to serve with people such as JOHN GLENN. JOHN GLENN is one of the finest people who, it is fair to say, has ever left this Earth. But we are going to see JOHN GLENN at the end of the month and witness his heroic and incredible mission into the sky. JOHN GLENN was with me when I was sworn into the Senate. We happened to be in Colorado on a vacation just 16 years ago, and he stood while I found a magistrate to swear me in because there was an opportunity based on the resignation of the then-appointed Senator.

At the same time we are saying goodbye to WENDELL FORD. WENDELL is someone who you could fight with, get your blood pressure up, more often than not you would lose the argument and lose the debate. But WENDELL FORD got things done. And I want to tell you, if I had to be served by a Senator, I would want that Senator to have the same concern about my State and my well-being and my family and my future as did WENDELL FORD. He never let an opportunity go by without defending his people and the State of Kentucky. Although we disagreed on lots of occasions, I always walked away with a high degree of affection and respect for WENDELL FORD.

So when I listen to DALE BUMPERS summarize his life, I think about where we are, because too often the arguments here overtake the purpose of our functioning. But DALE BUMPERS, Senator DALE BUMPERS reminds us that the mission is almost a holy one and that we have to step back and take a deep breath and get down to the business of the American people.

I wish to thank the Democratic leader for giving me these few minutes. I also wanted to take an opportunity to say so long to Senator DAN COATS. DAN COATS was a formidable opponent for me when New Jersey persisted in sending its trash out to Indiana where it was welcomed by the communities that had the certified landfills and all that. But DAN COATS didn't object when New Jersey sent its All-American football players to Notre Dame or to the University of Indiana. But serving with DAN also has been a privilege.

Mr. President, I wrap up just by saying that DALE BUMPERS, if you listened to his words, arrived here encouraged by a father who saw the value of Government service, and it is an interesting and touching explanation of what it is that provided his motivation. My father also motivated me to engage in whatever enterprise I could to serve the public. But he didn't know

it then. He worked. He tried to survive with his family during the lean and tough years, ashamed that he had to resort to a job with the WPA. I will never forget how discouraged he was when he came home, but, he said, he needed the job; he had to feed his family. My father died at the age of 43, after a year of illness with cancer. I had already enlisted in the Army. He disintegrated in front of our eyes, leaving not only an empty house but an empty wallet. My mother had to work. I had to send home my allotment to help pay the bills that were accumulated during that period of time.

But we both got here because we were encouraged by things that occurred in our families, messages that were sent by our parents, mine perhaps less articulate than the one I heard DALE BUMPERS describe. But we are here because they were able to give us that opportunity and we are here because we want to serve, to do something, to give something back as a result of having that opportunity.

To Senator DALE BUMPERS and the others, we say farewell. This place will be a lesser place without your presence, but because of your presence this place will continue to gain strength and to do what we have to do for the future. Rest assured that America will be strong. It will be different forces and different faces, but the work will continue to be done here.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator will suspend for just a minute, I am going to stretch the prerogatives of the Chair to say I came over to talk about Senator BUMPERS, whom I have gotten to know recently. We worked on park bills. I know no one more committed nor more easy to work with and who keeps his word any better.

I am sorry to say that, but I needed to.

The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I don't think anyone could say it any better than that, and I appreciate the Presiding Officer's comments. They are certainly well spoken and very appropriate. I join my colleague from New Jersey in expressing feelings that are very hard to express in public. Senator BUMPERS and I have some things in common. I am not as eloquent as he is, but I feel at times such as this probably as emotional.

I love his sense of humor. I have used more Bumpers material in my public career than anybody else in this Chamber. I don't think this is his story, but I might as well start with it. There was a time when Senator BUMPERS was at a dinner. We all go to these banquets over and over and over. We all drag our wives along. And they are so good to come with us so often. Betty was at this particular dinner with Senator BUMPERS, sitting, as she always does, at his side supportive and smiling.

The emcee introduced Senator BUMPERS as one who is a model legislator, a model politician, a model spokesperson

for Arkansas, just a model person all the way around. On the way home, DALE commented to Betty about what a wonderful introduction that was. They got home; Betty brought the dictionary to DALE, sitting now in his own study, and read to him the word "model," as it is defined in Webster's. There it is defined as "a small replica of the real thing."

Senator BUMPERS is a model in the truest sense of the word. In many respects I call him my model, for how he speaks, for what he stands for, for how he interacts with his colleagues, for how he represents his State, for all of the courageous positions he has taken. I don't know how you do better than that. I don't know who it was who once said, "If we are to see farther into the future, we must stand on the shoulders of giants." DALE BUMPERS is a giant. And it is upon his shoulders that we have stood many, many, many times to see into the future, as I have seen. He persuades us, he cajoles us, he humors us, he always enlightens us.

As I heard Senator DOMENICI, the senior Senator from New Mexico, say earlier: "He does it in a way that is not in fashion perhaps, not in keeping with what the normal rules of the body are." The normal rules are, you are supposed to stay at your desk. Not Senator BUMPERS. Senator BUMPERS has the longest cord in Senate history. I joked the other night, when we finally see Senator BUMPERS depart, we are going to cut up his cord and give 10 feet to every Senator and save 10 more for the next. He goes up and down that aisle.

Since, as we are prone to do in this body, we name things after our colleagues—I happen to be fortunate enough to reside in the Byrd suite—I am going to start referring to that as the Bumpers corridor. And I am pointing, for the record, to my left. For anybody who has served with DALE, I don't have to point at all. We all know what the Bumpers corridor is.

So it is a bittersweet moment. We recognize the time comes for all of us to depart, to say goodbye. As others have noted, and I am sure more will note before the end of the session, we say goodbye not only to our dear, wonderful friend DALE, but to his wife Betty as well. There is no question, as we all know, he over-married. There is no question who the real force in the family is. There is no question who the visionary and the giant is. As Senator Bumpers so capably noted, there is no question who is beloved in the State of Arkansas. We will miss Betty Bumpers and her vision and her humor and all of her contributions.

I asked my staff to put some thoughts together and I really want to share some of them because I think, for the record and for our colleagues and for those who may be watching, it is important to remember who it was we just have heard from.

We heard from a Marine. We heard from a man who volunteered to serve

during World War II. We heard from a person who grew up in a small town, Charleston, AR—I don't have a clue where it is—where he worked as a smalltown lawyer and taught Sunday school. He may not have been a Methodist preacher, but he was a Sunday school teacher. He told us about his decision, in 1970, to run for Governor. What he did not say is that he was one of eight candidates vying for the Democratic nomination. He did indicate that polls taken at the start of the race gave him a 1-percent approval rating. That is half of what it is right now. He sold a herd of Angus cattle for \$95,000 to finance his TV ad campaign. You couldn't get that much for Angus cattle today.

He finished the primary in second place, behind someone whose name we all know, Orville Faubus, whose race-baiting brand of politics still dominated much of Arkansas Democratic politics. He beat Orville Faubus in a runoff and went on to beat the incumbent Republican, Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, in a general election by a margin of 2 to 1.

After being elected Governor, DALE BUMPERS was asked by Tom Wicker, then a reporter for the New York Times, to explain how a man would come from obscurity to beat two living legends. He answered simply, "I tried to appeal to the best in people in my campaign." And that is what he has done his entire public career; he has appealed to the best of people.

As Governor, he worked aggressively and successfully to modernize the State government. He put a tremendous emphasis on improving education and expanding health services. Then, in 1973, with 1 year remaining in his term, he made the decision to challenge another living legend, William J. Fulbright, for the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate. Senator Fulbright was, at that time, a 30-year incumbent Senator. It probably did not come as any surprise to people in Arkansas, but it must have to the Nation, because when all the votes were counted, DALE won that race too, 2 to 1.

In the Senate, there is not a colleague in this Chamber who has not been affected by his eloquence and his reasoning on everything from arms control to the environment. He has been a champion for rural America. He has been a consistent advocate for fiscal discipline. In the 1980s he voted against the tax cuts, arguing that they would explode the Federal deficit. In the 1990s he took the tough votes needed to eliminate those deficits.

He has been a tireless defender of the U.S. Constitution and the separation of powers it guarantees. He did not mention this, but he should have. In 1982 he was the only Senator from the Deep South to vote against a proposal stripping the Federal courts of their right to order school busing. He said at the time, while he opposed the use of busing to achieve racial balance, he opposed even more "this sinister and de-

vicious attack on the Constitution . . . [this] erosion of the only document that stands between the people and tyranny."

This past July, shortly before launching the last of his annual attempts to kill the international space station, Senator BUMPERS told a reporter that he expected to lose again but he would try anyway because he thought it was the right thing to do. Then he added, "I probably lost as many battles as anybody who ever served in the U.S. Senate."

I want to tell my friend as he prepares to end his Senate career, if you did in fact lose more battles than someone else who may have served here, it is only because you chose tougher and more important battles. Even more than the outcome of your battles, you have earned your place in history for the dignity and the courage and the eloquence with which you have waged those battles.

I remember, having just arrived—I was elected in 1986, sworn in in 1987—by the end of the year, in 1987, I had already decided who my man for President was. I remember the conversation as if it took place yesterday. I was reminded again, as our colleague spoke on the Senate floor, about his ambition. That was the ambition for many of us as well. He would have been the same kind of outstanding President that he has been the outstanding Governor and Senator we know today. That was not to be. But in the eyes of all of us, DALE BUMPERS will always stand as the giant we knew, as the respected legislator we trust, and as the friend we love.

I yield the floor.

Mr. NICKLES addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I compliment my colleagues on their fine remarks about our colleague, Senator BUMPERS. I already made a speech complimenting him for his service to the Senate. I noticed my speech had several things in common with the speech of Senator DASCHLE. I alluded to the fact of Senator BUMPERS' sense of humor, which all of us have enjoyed, Democrats and Republicans, and I also referred to the fact that he had the longest microphone cord in the Senate. He has used it extensively, and we have all enjoyed that as well.

BUDGET NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I want to make several comments concerning some of the negotiations that are going forward. I remind my colleagues in the Congress that the Constitution gives the Congress, not the President, the authority and the responsibility to appropriate money, to pass bills. As a

matter of fact, article I of the Constitution says:

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States. . . .

Not in the executive branch, in the Congress, in the people's body.

It also says under article I, section 9:

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by law.

Again, made by Congress. I think some people in the administration think that they are Congress now, that they can write appropriations bills. That is not constitutional. The President has his constitutional authority, and if he wants to veto appropriations bills, he has a right to do so. Let him exercise that right. He doesn't have a right to write appropriations bills.

For some reason, some people have gotten this idea that the administration is an equal partner. They are an equal branch of Government, but we have different functions in Government. The executive branch can submit a budget, they can confer, they can consult, but Congress passes the appropriations bills, and we need to do so.

Now we have the President making ever-extending demands: "Well, I'm not going to sign that bill if you don't spend so much money." Fine. Very good. He vetoed the Agriculture Department appropriations bill because he said we didn't spend enough money and didn't spend enough money under the guise of emergency agriculture assistance.

He requested \$2.3 billion for emergency assistance. We appropriated \$4.2 billion, and he vetoed it and said, "We want to spend \$7 billion." In a period of a couple of weeks, he more than doubled his demands. He has a right to veto the bill; fine. He doesn't have a right to write the bill.

Many people in his administration, maybe the President himself, seem to think, "We are going to write the bill; we're just not going to sign it; if they don't give us more money, we are going to shut down the Government." Fine, he can shut down the Government.

I stated to the press, and I will state it again, this Congress will pass as many continuing resolutions as necessary, and it may last all year. We may be operating under continuing resolutions all year long. I personally don't have any desire, any intention of funding all of the Presidential requests that are coming down the pike, for which, all of a sudden, he is making demands. I hope that our colleagues will support me in that effort.

I am not in that big a hurry to get out of town. I heard the President allude to that in a very partisan statement that he made yesterday with Members of Congress: "We need to keep Congress in." Mr. President, we will stay in. We will pass resolutions continuing Government operations at 1998 levels, this year's levels. We will pass that as long as necessary.